
دار المنظومة
DAR ALMANDUMAH
الرواد في قواعد المعلومات العربية

افريقيا والحرب العربية الاسرائيلية الرابعة

محمد على العوينى*

ملخص المقال :

تعرضت مقدمة الدراسة للمتغيرات المختلفة التى ترتبت على حرب رمضان « الحرب العربية الإسرائيلية الرابعة » ومنها السلوك الدولى ، إذ ترتب على الحرب ردود فعل دولية .

الفشل الإسرائيلى فى أفريقيا :

تناولت الدراسة الأهداف الإسرائيلية فى أفريقيا وهى : كسب الرأى العام الإفريقى تجاه قضايا اسرائيل الخاصة بالوجود والأمن والتأييد الدولى ، وتدعيم النفوذ السياسى الإسرائيلى، وتدعيم مركز الاقتصاد الإسرائيلى . وتمثلت العوامل التى ساعدت اسرائيل فى أفريقيا فى الميراث التاريخى الذى ترتب على الاستعمار فى أفريقيا ، بالإضافة إلى مشاكل الاستقلال الإفريقى .

ولجأت اسرائيل فى تنفيذ سياستها إلى عدة وسائل سياسية واقتصادية واجتماعية وثقافية وعسكرية وإعلامية .

وهناك عدة عوامل أدت إلى تغير السلوك الإفريقى تجاه إسرائيل إلى حد قطع العلاقات الدبلوماسية للدول الإفريقية مع إسرائيل، وذلك بتغير أساليب المواجهة العربية لإسرائيل فى أفريقيا بعد بروز النتائج المختلفة لحرب ١٩٦٧ .

(*) دارس الدكتوراه بكلية الاقتصاد والعلوم السياسية – جامعة القاهرة

وقد ساعدت على ذلك العوامل التالية :

١ ــ رفض اسرائيل الانسحاب من الأراضى العربية المحتلة وتنفيذ قرارات منظمة الوحدة الإفريقية والأمم المتحدة .

٢ ــ زيادة فاعلية السياسة العربية تجاه أفريقيا تمشيا مع المصالح المشتركة .

٣ ــ دور الاتصال المباشر على المستويات المختلفة ولاسيما الرؤساء وغيرهم من صانعى القرار السياسى .

٤ ــ بروز نمط جديد من الزعماء الإفريقيين وزيادة التفاهم المتبادل بين الافريقيين والعرب .

٥ ــ أسهم تزايد عدد الدول الأفريقية التى قطعت علاقاتها الدبلوماسية مع إسرائيل فى إحراج غيرها من الدول الإفريقية ، مما أدى إلى أن تقوم الأخيرة بقطع علاقاتها الدبلوماسية مع إسرائيل .

٦ ــ زيادة الوعى الإفريقى والعربى بالتحديات المشتركة التى تواجه الدول الإفريقية والعريقة فى المجال الدولى .

وقد قطعت تسع دول افريقية علاقاتها الدبلوماسية مع اسرائيل قبل نشوب الحرب فى ٦ أكتوبر (تشرين الأول) ١٩٧٣ ، وبعد نشوب الحرب قطعت عشرون دولة افريقية أخرى علاقاتها الدبلوماسية مع اسرائيل ، وبذلك يبلغ العدد الإجمالى ٢٩ دولة افريقية قطعت علاقاتها الدبلوماسية مع اسرائيل ولم يبق إلا ملاوى وسوازيلاند وليسوتو وموريشيوس . وقد تأثر موقف هذه الدول بوضعيتها الجيوبولتكية المتأثرة بالنظم العنصرية فى أفريقيا الجنوبية بالإضافة إلى الميراث الاستعمارى .

وفى أعقاب ذلك رفعت اسرائيل تمثيلها الدبلوماسى مع جنوب أفريقيا لمستوى السفارة فى ١١ مارس (آذار) ١٩٧٤ مما يبين الارتباط بين اسرائيل ونظام الأقلية فى جنوب أفريقيا وعداوتهما للدول الافريقية والعربية .

واتخذ مجلس وزراء منظمة الوحدة الإفريقية قرارا فى ٢١ نوفمبر (تشرين الثانى) ١٩٧٣ يؤيد فيه النضال العربى ويدين اسرائيل بشدة ويطالب بالانسحاب غير المشروط لإسرائيل من الأراضى العربية المحتلة واستعادة الشعب الفلسطينى لحقوقه الوطنيـة .

واتخذ مؤتمر وزراء خارجية دول شرق ووسط أفريقيا قرارا فى نوفمبر (تشرين الثانى) ١٩٧٣ يدين فيه « التحالف غير المقدس » بين جنوب آفريقيا والبرتغال وروديسيا واسرائيل ، ويدين اسرائيل بسبب سياستها العدوانية ، ويطالب بالانسحاب الفورى وغير المشروط للقوات الإسرائيلية من كل الأراضى العربية التى احتلت فى يونيو (حزيران) ١٩٦٧ ؛

الموقف العربى :

عبرت الدول العربية عن تقديرها للموقف الإفريقى بأشكال مختلفة ومنها قرار مؤتمر القمة العربى الذى عقد فى الجزائر فى الفترة من ٢٦ – ٢٨ نوفمبر (تشرين الثانى)١٩٧٣ الذى يعبر عن تقدير الدول العربية لقيام الدول الإفريقية بقطع علاقاتها الدبلوماسية مع اسرائيل. وتقدير الموقف الإفريقى الذى تمثل فى الدورة الاستثنائية للمجلس الوزارى لمنظمة الوحدة الإفريقية ، وتأييد الدول الإفريقية فى نضالها من أجل التحرر الوطنى والتقدم الاقتصادى والنضال ضد الاستعمار والتفرقة العنصرية.

وقرر المؤتمر اتخاذ الخطوات التالية لتدعيم التضامن العربى الإفريقى :

١ – تدعيم التعاون العربى الأفريقى فى المجال السياسى ، وتدعيم التمثيل الدبلوماسى العربى فى أفريقيا .

٢ – قطع العلاقات الدبلوماسية والقنصلية والاقتصادية والثقافية وغيرها مع جنوب أفريقيا والبرتغال وروديسيا من قبل الدول العربية التى لم تقطع هذه العلاقات بعد .

٣ – فرض حظر بترولى من قبل الدول العربية على جنوب أفريقيا والبرتغال وروديسيا .

٤ – اتخاذ إجراءات خاصة لاستئناف إمداد الدول الإفريقية بالبترول العربى .

٥ – تدعيم وتوسيع لتعاون الاقتصادى والمالى والثقافى مع الدول الأفريقية

٦ – تطوير التأييد الدبلوماسى والمادى لنضال منظمات التحرير الأفريقية .

وعملت الدول العربية على إنشاء البنك العربى للتنمية الاقتصادية والاجتماعية فى أفريقيا برأسمال يقدر بـ ٢٠٦ مليون دولار ، وذلك لتدعيم التعاون الاقتصادى والمالى والفنى مع الدول الإفريقية ، وزاد رأس مال البنك وأصبح ٢٣٠ مليون دولار ، كما تم انشاء صندوق لتقديم القروض لأفريقيا برأس مال يقدر بـ ٢٠٠ مليون دولار وذلك لمساعدة أفريقيا لمواجهة زيادة أسعار المواد الخام ، وتقرر إنشاء صندوق للتعاون الفنى برأس مال يقدر بـ ١٥ مليون دولار وذلك لتدعيم التعاون الفنى مع أفريقيا .

وهكذا شهدت العلاقات الأفريقية العربية تغيراً أساسيا مبنيا على أساس المصالح المشتركة والاحتياجات الفعلية للجانبين .

الخط الدعائى الإسرائيلى :

اهتز الموقف الإسرائيلى من جراء قيام الدول الإفريقية بقطع العلاقات الدبلوماسية مع إسرائيل وتمثل المنطق الدعائى الإسرائيلى فى وصف ذلك « بالخيانة » « والخطوة السلبية التى تعوق فرص السلام » « وتحول القارة السوداء ضد صديقها الأفضل وضرب اليد التى مدت إليها يد المعونة » . واتجه المنطق الدعائى لإسرائيل إلى الإشادة بجنوب أفريقيا التى أيدت اسرائيل ودعا إلى قيام علاقات دبلوماسية كاملة مع جنوب أفريقيا – وهذا ما تم بالفعل – كما حبذ المنطق الدعائى الإسرائيلى دور البرتغال لدورها المؤيد لإسرائيل .

ويبين تفنيد المنطق الدعائى أن الموقف الأفريقى كان خطوة إيجابية فى تدعيم السلام ، كما تدل عناصر المنطق الدعائى على التفاعل بين إسرائيل ونظم الأقلية فى أفريقيا الجنوبية بالإضافة إلى البرتغال ، كما أدرك المنطق الدعائى الإسرائيلى أن الموقف الإسرائيلى تجاه الأراضى العربية المحتلة فى حرب ١٩٦٧ يعد عاملا حاسما فى تغير الموقف الإفريقى تجاه اسرائيل .

وهكذا بينت الدراسة أسباب التغير — فى الموقف الأفريقى ، والتغيرات التى طرأت على الموقف العربى تجاه أفريقيا ، مع الأخذ فى الاعتبار المصالح المشتركة والاحتياجات الفعلية للدول العربية والأفريقية ، كما بينت عناصر المنطق الدعائى الإسرائيلى التى تعكس الفشل الإسرائيلى بالإضافة إلى التحالف بين اسرائيل ونظام الأقلية فى أفريقيا الجنوبية .



AFRICA AND THE FOURTH ARAB ISRAELI WAR

by

MOHAMED ALY ELEWAINY (*)

INTRODUCTION

The fourth Arab Israeli war of October 1973 (The Ramadan War) may prove to be a turning point in the position of the Arab World. It came as a surprise to the world as a result of the bellicose attitude of Israel and its refusal to comply with U.N. resolutions in connection with the Arab Israeli conflict.

The Arab fought the war to force Israel to implement the world will which was embodied in the different resolutions taken by International and Regional Organizations as well as conferences.

This war has not only changed the military situation but has also put an end to the myth of the invincibility of the Israeli army. It has, above all, disproven a fallacy which Israel has always propagated, namely, that the Arabs are an inferior people, not sufficiently educated and, as such could not use sophisticated weapons in combat.

The war disproved Israel's claim that its security could only be maintained by expension and domination of territories belonging to others.

The Ramadan war provoked widespread reactions in the world, and revealed attitudes of states as a result of interwoven factors which determine the international behavior of states especially in wars and tensions.

(*) M.A. Poltical Science, Cairo University.

ISRAELI FAILURE IN AFRICA :

The objectives of Israeli policy in African were (1) :

1. Winning pre-Israeli African public opinion in problems of Israeli existence, security and international support.
2. The consolidation of Israeli political influence by contacts with various institutions and Jewish communities in Africa.
3. The consolidation of Israeli economy by creating markets to absorb Israeli products and supply raw materials, in addition to finding outlets for the surplus of its manpower.

Some factors have helped Israeli policy in Africa. The historical legacy of domination in Africa and personality traits of some leaders have paved the way for Israel in Africa, in addition to the problems of African independence, especially economic development and the cadres needed to implement this development.

Israel has followed different instruments (2) political instruments are manifested indiplomatic representation with 33 African states before April 15, 1972 when Uganda severed diplomatic relations with Israel and was followed by other states. This figure includes south Africa which is ruled by the minority regime of settlers, furthermore Israel resorted to friendship treaties, exploitation of disturbances and adopted attitudes towards African problems.

Regarding economic means of Israeli policy, there are the exchange of trade, loans, joint economic ventures, the use of experts in various fields and training. Israel has extended its loans to Africa but these loans have been kept at a minimal level (3).

Regarding social and cultural means, Israel has established relations between different Israeli institutions and their counterparts in Africa. Israel has benefited from cultural agreements and the granting of schalarships to Africans.

---

(1) Mohamed Aly Elewainy, **Israel's Foreign Policy in Africa**, Cairo, first Edition, 1972 « in Arabic ».

(2) **Ibid.**

(3) Israeli aid to Africa was about — 05% of the foreign aid given to the continent — Le Monde 27/5/1970.

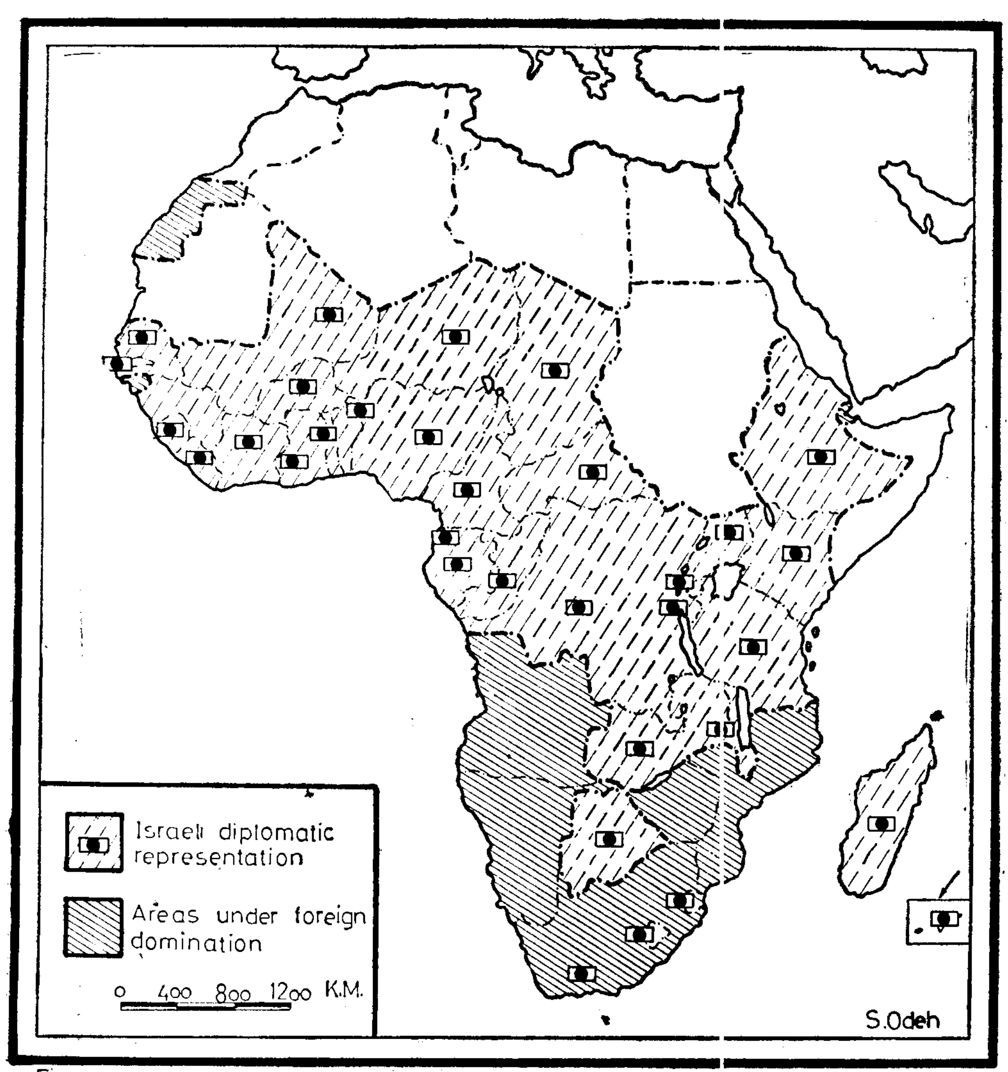


Fig. II Israeli diplomatic representation in 33 African states prior to April 15, 1972

Israeli military policy included the training of Africans. Israel has tried to apply Gadna and Nehal in Africa (4) but these models proved a failure, due to a variety of conditions, because Israel is based upon expansionism and militarism, while Africa faces the developmental problems of new states and is not concerned with military adventures.

In the realm of propaganda Israel has tried to apply its logic in African by communication with parties, pressure groups and interest groups.

The logic of Israeli propaganda in Africa has claimed a similarity between "the Jewish and African historical experience". This is not true, because the Jewish experience was a result of isolation and Ghetto life, while the African experience was a result of colonialism. Furthermore, the Zionist Jews are participants in apertheid in Southern Africa through their role in the formulation and implementation of this policy (5).

Israel claimed that her experience is a model for Africa but this model is based basically upon foreign asistance and charity, Africa on the other hands, is confronted with different coditions.

Thus, till 1967, Israel succeeded in winning over African public opinion and consolidating its political influence, as a result of its effective foreign policy and the comparative weakness of Arab confrontation, despite the establishment of Israel on Palestinian territory and Israel's settler character (6).

The techniques of the Arab confrontation have been changed as a result of the consequences of the war of 1976. The Arabs realized the importance of the different instruments of foreign policy, as well as the increase of their capabilities. This led to

---

(4) Gadna and Nahal are paramilitary organizations but Nahel means fighting pioneer Youth and its units are entrusted to shoulder the repronsibility of construction and actions against neighbours while Gadna prepares males and females before age of military service for military life and indoctrinizes them the Zionist Ideology.

This means that Gadna and Nahal participate in the process of Israeli socalization.

(5) M.A. Elewainy, **op. cit.**

(6) **Ibid.**

the gradual consolidation of Afro-Arab relations, with the help of the following factors :

1. The refusal of Israel to with draw from the Arab occupied territaries and implement OAU and U.N. resolutions.
2. The increase in the effectiveness of Arab policy towards Africa on a common interests ground.
3. The role of face to face communication on different levels especially leaders and other decision makers.
4. The emergence of a new pattern of African leaders and the increase of mutual understanding between Africans and Arabs.
5. The increase of the number of African states which have severed diplomatic relations with Israel, helped and embarassed the others to break off diplomatic relations with Israel.
6. The increase of African and Arab awareness of the common challenges which confront them in the international system, for example Settler Colonialism of Israel and minority regime in Southern Africa.

The following African states sevred diplomatic relations with Israel before and after the war of October 6, 1973.

	States	Date of Severance
1.	Guinea	June 1967
2.	Uganda	15/ 4/1972
3.	Chad	12/12/1972
4.	Congo Brazaville	31/12/1972
5.	Niger	4/ 1/1973
6.	Mali	5/ 1/1973
7.	Burundi	16/5 /1973
8.	Togo	21/ 9/1973
9.	Zaire	4/10/1973

10.	Ruanda	9/10/1973
11.	Dahomey	9/10/1973
12.	Upper Volta	11/10/1973
13.	Equatorial Guinea	15/10/1973
14.	Cameron	16/10/1973
15.	Tanzania	19/10/1973
16.	Madagascar	19/10/1973
17.	Central Africa	21/10/1973
18.	Ethiepea	23/10/1973
19.	Nigeria	24/10/1973
20.	Gambia	26/10/1973
21.	Zambia	26/10/1973
22.	Ghana	28/10/1973
23.	Senegal	28/10/1973
24.	Gabon	29/10/1973
25.	Sierraleone	29/10/1973
26.	Kenya	1/11/1973
27.	Liberia	2/11/1973
28.	Ivory Coast	8/11/1973
29.	Botswana	13/11/1973

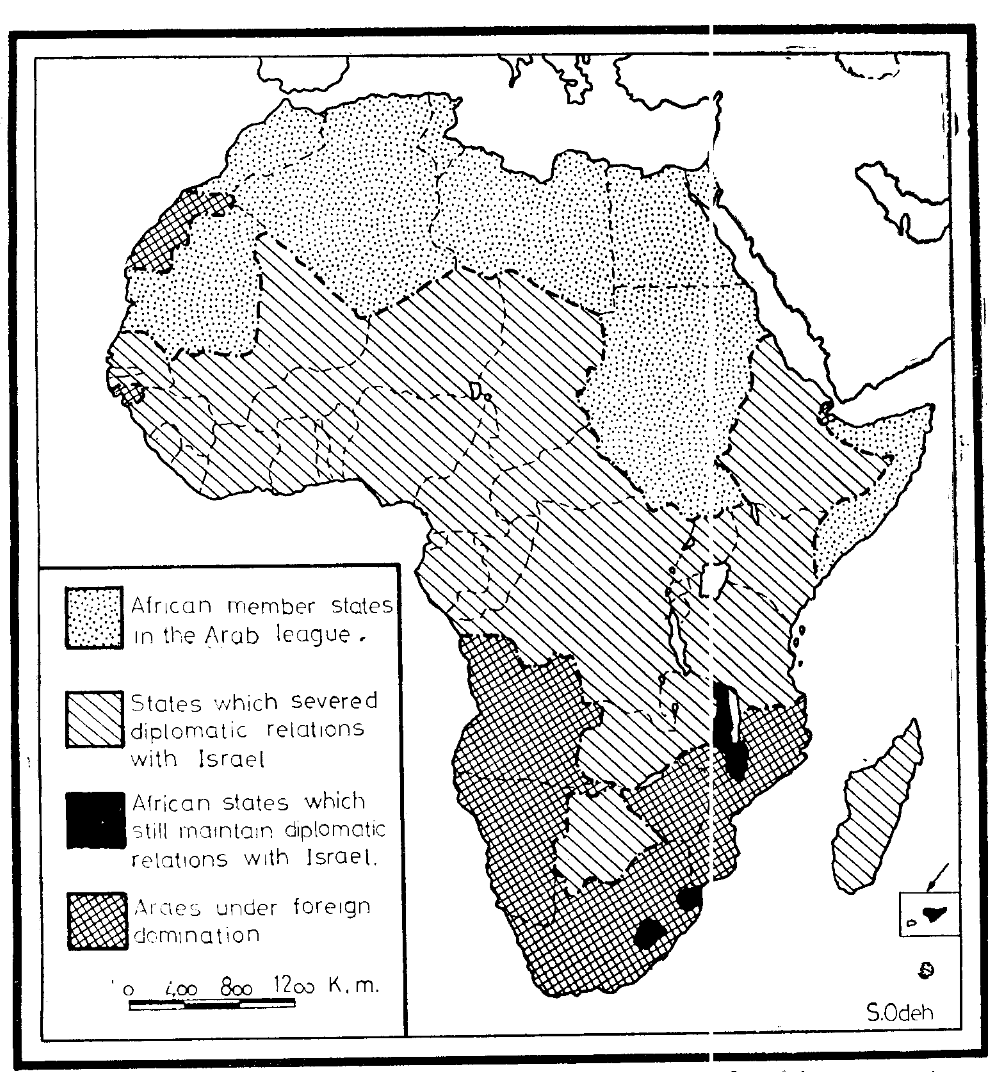


Fig III Africa after severance of diplomatic relations with Israel

Thus all the independent African atates severed diplomatic relations with Israel except Malawi, Swaziland, Lesothe and Mauritius, (7) their geopolitical positions being influenced by the racist regimes in Southern Africa as well as imperialist heritage Israel raised its diplomatic representation with South Africa to the Ambassadorial level on March 11, 1974. This illustrates the interaction between Israel and the minority regime in South Africa (8), and emphasizes their hostilities to the Afro-Arab States.

The Council of Ministers of OAU held its 8th. extraordinary session in Addis Ababa on November 21, 1973 and adopted the following resolution (9) :

1. TAKES NOTE of the statement of the Foreign Minister of the Arab Republic of Egypt.
2. HAILS the heroic struggle of the Arab people of Egypt and other Arab countries and Palestinian people against the Israeli forces of aggression.
3. NOTES WITH STISFACTION the gains achieved by Egypt during the October war of liberation against Israel.
4. RECOMMENDS to Member States of the OAU to maintain the severance of relations with Israel until it withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories and until the recovery by the Palestinian people of their legitimate national rights.
5. STRONGLY CONDEMNS Israel for its latest act of aggression on the 6th of October, 1973 and for its continued obstruction of the efforts aimed at implementing all relevant OAU and UN Security Council resolutions and in particular Resolutions 338, 339, and 340.

---

(7) See in details :

— Nagaga Alot, Africa in the Middle East War, Voice of Egypt, Vol 16-17, October — November, 1973 Published by Press Office, Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt Nairobi, Kenya, pp. 2 - 3.

— Ben Mbaka, African Reaction to the 1973 War, Ibid. pp. 6 - 7.

— Ben Mbaka, The Third World Condemns Israel, **Voice of Egypt**, Vol. 18 - 19, December 1973, January 1973, pp. 7 - 8.

(8) Mohamed Aly Elewainy, Racial Ideology in Israel and Southern Africa, **Bulletin of the Institute of Arab Research and Studies**, Vol. 4, Cairo June 1973, pp. 1 - 5.

(9) **Voice of Egypt**, Vol. 18 - 19, December 1973, January 1974, pp. 1 - 2.

6. EMPHASIZES that the cease-fire ordered by the Security Council resolutions in closely linked with the immediate start of the implomentation of Security Council Resolution 242 which calls for the withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories.

7. DEMANDS the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab terriotries.

8. REAFFIRMS by virtus of article II paragraph (c) of the OAU Charter and in the name of African solidarity its active and total support for the Arab Republic of Egypt in her legitimate struggle to recover entirely and by all means her territorial integrity.

9. TAKES NOTE WITH APPRECIATION of the peace initiative launched by President Sadat on 16th October 1973, for the realization of a just and durabls peace in the Middle East which takes due account of the necessity of the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the national right of the Palestinian people.

10. REAFFIRMS its stand that withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories and the attainment of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people is a prerequisite to a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

11. RECOGNIZES the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinian people to restore their national rights by all means available to them.

12. RENEWS its total and effective support for the just cause of the Palestinian people as well as their legitimate national rights and reiterates its firm support to Egypt and other Arab countries, victims of Israeli aggression.

13. REJECTS any modification of the status of Jersusalem and declares null and void, the moves to annex the Holy City in violation of Security Council Resolution 252 (1968) and United Nations General Assembly Resolutions 2252 (Es. V) and 2254 (Es. V) of 4th and 14th July 1967 respectively.

14. DECLARES that any illegal measure taken by Israel in the occupied territories to change its geographical and demographic aspects are nul and void and condemns Israels' violation of universal declaration of human rights as well as its refusal to implement the 1949 Geneva Convention on the protection of civilian populations in armed conflict.
15. CONDEMNS the indiscriminate bombing of innocent civilians and the ruthless destruction of civilian targets and property carried out by Israel during the war, which is contrary to the Geneva conventions and to the recognized rules of international law.
16. DRAWS the attention of world public opinion to the dangerous concept of preventive war applied by Israel and the minority racist regims in Southern Africa.
17. URGES Member States to strengthen individual and collective measures to further isolate Israel in the political, economic, military and cultural fields until a just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem is found.
18. DENOUNCES the Azores Agreement between the USA and Portugal and calls upon the Government of the US not to renew this Agreement on its expiry date on February 3, 1974.
19. RECOMMENDS that all African States should take either individually or collectively, within the framework of the OAU and other international bodies and in particular in compliance with Chapter VII of the UN charter, aurequisite measures to put an end to Israel's defiance of the international community.
20. INVITES all Member States of the OAU and appeals to all friendly countries to impose a total economic embargo and in particular an oil embargo, against Israel, Portugal, South Africa and the minority racist regime in Southern Rhodesia.
21. REQUESTS the OAU Secretary-General to follow the development of the Middle East situation and to report on it to the 23rd Session of the Council of Ministers.
22. DECIDES to maintain the Middle East situation as an important item on the agenda of all OAU meeting.

Following is the resolution, concerning the Middle East, adopted by the conference of foreign Ministers of East and Contral African States held at Dar Es Salaam, November 21 - 24, 1973 :

The Conference Strongly condemned the unholy alliance between South Africa, Portugal, Rhodesia and Israel as clearly shown during the recent October War in the Middle East. It also called upon the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Japan and Brazil to desist from Assisting the racist Minority regimes in Southern Africa and Warned that the continuation of such assistance will compel member states of East and Contral Africa to take diplomatic, economic and any other measures considered necessary against those powers.

With regard to the Middle East Conflict it strongly condemned Israeli aggression committed against Egypt and other Arab States in October 1973 hailed the heroic struggle of the Arab Countries to repel Israeli forces of Aggression. The Conference further demanded the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli Forces from all Arab territories occupied in June 1967.

It recommended to maintain the severance of relations with Israel until the recovery of the National and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and called for individual and collective measures to further isolate Israel until permanent and just peace is achieved (10).

The above mentioned facts illustrate the development of the African attitude to the extent of severance of diplomatic relations with Israel, till the compliance of Israel with the U.N. and O.A.U. resolutions which called upon Israel to withdraw from all Arab occupied territories and the restoration of the rights of the Palestinians in their homeland. Furthermore, this shows the increase of awarness among the African States of the Common characteristics which are shared by Arabs and Africans and the common challenges which are confronted by the Afro-Arab States against imperialism, settler colonialism and underdevelopment.

---

(10) **Ibid.**, p. 6.

ARAB ATTITUDE :

The Arab World welcomed and appraciated the African political behavior. The Arab kings and heads of state meeting in Agliers from November 26 - 28, 1973 (11) after having discussed the new situation in the Middle East resulting from the Israeli aggression and its eeffects on international security, and after taking in to consideration the increased momentum of solidarity exprended by the sistarly African States in favour of the Just Arab cause and struggle for the liberation of the occupied Arab teritories, and the restoration by the palestinian people in their national rights, which struggle is part of the battle waged by the liberation forces against the powers of colonialism, racialism and sianism, and as they consider that African Arab solidarity should be tangibly felt in all fields particularly in the field of political and economic cooperation with a view to consolidating national independence and achieving development have decided.

1. To express their appreciation to the sisterly African States for their decisions to sever relations with Israel, whose isolation in the world increases.

2. To voice their appreciation for the confirmation of this solidarity with the Arab Countries during the extra-ordinary session of the OAU Ministerial Council.

3. To extend full support to the African countries in their struggle for national liberation and economic progress and in the struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination.

4. To welcome the decision of the OAU Ministerial Council's extra-ordinary session to set up a seven nations committee to regulate Arab African economic cooperation and decide to take the following measures to consolidate Arab African solidarity and rendering it concrete in practical reality :

---

(11) Statement Addressed to Africa by the Arab Summit Conference held in Algiers, November 1973, **in World Community Documents on the 6th October. 1973 War.** Foreign Relations Committee, People's Assembly, Arab Republic of Egypt 1973, pp. 16 - 17.

a) Consolidation of Arab African cooperation in the political sphore and promotion of Arab diplomatic representation in Africa.

b) Secerance of diplomatic, consular, economic, cultural and other relations with South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia by the Arab States which have not as yet done this.

c) Imposing a complete embargo of Arab oil exports to these three countries.

d) Adoption of special measures to resume the natural supply of Arab oil to sisterly African States.

e) Consolidation and expansion of economic, financial and cultural cooperation with sisterly African States on bilateral level and on the level of Arab and African regional organizations.

f) Stepping up diplomatic and material support to the struggle of African liberation organizations.

g) In order to speed up the implementation of these resolutions and establish continued cooperation between the Arab and African countries, they entrust the General Secretariat of the Arab League with taking the excutive procedures and contacting the General Secretariat of the organization of African Unity and its seven nations committee to organize regular consultations on the various and highest levels between the Arab and African states.

Thus the Algiers Arab summit has taken important decisions to consolidate the Afro-Arab cooperation against the common challenges which confront them. This attitude against the three minority regimes "Israel, South Africa and Rhodesia", is a recognitions on the part of Arab States that there is no difference between Zionism and South African fascism and that oppression is indivisible.

A number of Arab States signed the agreement of the Arab Bank for Economic and Social Development in Africa with a capital of $ 206 m. to consolidate economic, financial and technical cooperation between the Arab World and Africa through financing

African economic development and encouraging investment of Arab Capital in Africa (12). The capital of the bank has been increased to $ 230 m. (13).

The Arab World established a fund on January 23, 1974 to provide African with loans, with a capital of $ 200 m. (14). Its aim is to assist African to confront the increase of the prices of raw materials.

The Arab World decided to establish "Technical Assistance fund" with a capital of $ 15 m. (15) to privide Africa with technical assistance.

Thus, Afro Arab relations have withnessed a basic change based upon the common interests and actual requirements of the two sides.

ISRAELI PROPAGANDISTIC LINE :

Israel was schocked as a result of its failure in Africa. On October 4, 1973, the Israeli foreign minister Abba Eban commented on Zaire's action saying "Breaking relations with Israel, ... amounts to a betrayal of international good will and trust .... Israel has never done anything to Zaire — on the contrary she has always helped her in times of danger". Mr. Eban described the African attitude as anegative step which obstructed the chances of peace (16).

An Israeli writer said "There is every reason to accept Mobutu's statement that our continued settlement of the territories conquered in 1967 is the main reason for his decision ... changing

---

(12) **Middle East News Agency**, 18/2/1974.

(13) **Ibid.** 2/4/1974.

(14) **Ibid.**

(15) **Akhbar Elvoum**, 30/3/1974.

(16) **Haaretz**, 7/10/1973.

See Middle East International, Devoted to the Middle East and its place **in world Affairs**, London, No. 31, January 1974, p. 13.

borders by force of arms is, for reasons peculiar to Africa, very badly received by African leaders (17).

One of the leading journalists of Yediet Aharanot (31/10/1973) sholom Nakdimon Commented :

"The black centinent has turned against her best friend and bitten the hand that fed her ...... South Africa has stood by Israel in her hours of trial throughout the history of the state just as she stood by her in the war of the day of atonement. Like many other countries, we have buycotted South Africa, Despite this she has tried to understand us. We must now pave the way for full diplomatic relations with South Africa. There must also be a special place in our hearts for portugal. So-called pure and friendly nations such as Britain and Germany went against us in the days of the day of Atonement War.... 'Cruel", "repressive", and "reactioiary" white Portugal told Washington that she would allow the passage of arms to Israel through territories under her control...."

The above mentioned quotations, illustrate disappointment of Israel towards the attitude of Africa, Israel propagandistic line considered breaking relations with Israel as a Destrayal of international good will and a negative step which abstructed the chances of peace but the facts say that breaking relations with Israel is a result of international good will and a positive step which strengthened the chance of peace. The development in the Arab Israeli conflict, proves the credibility of these facts.

This propagandistic line proves without any doubt the interaction between Israel and the minority regimes in Southern Africa, as well as Portugal furthermore, Israeli propaganda realized that Israeli attitude towards the Arab territories occupied in the war of 1967 was adecisive factor in the change of African attitude towards Israel.

---

(17) **Haaretz**, 7/10/1973.

CONCLUSION

The above mentioned points lead to the following conclusions :

1. African behavior attributes to the refusal of Israel to withdraw from the Arab occupied territories and to comply with the O.A.U. and U.N. resolutions, the increase of Arab policy effectivness towards Africa, the role of face to face commication on different levels, the emerence of a new pattern of African leaders and the increase of African and Arab awareness of the common challenges which confront them.

2. Arab attitude towards Africa has witnessed a substantial change based upon the common interests and real requirements of the Arab World and Africa.

3. Israeli reaction shows disappointment and failure as well as the alliance between Israel and the minority regime in Southern Africa.

APPENDIX

UNITED NATIONS

Press Section
Office of Public Information
United Nations, N.Y.

Press Release WS/652
29 March 1974.

APARTHEID COMMITTEE CONCERNED AT REPORTS OF IMPROVED ISRAEL-SOUTH AFRICA TIES

The Special Committee on Apartheid decided on Wednesday, 27 March, to tell Israel of its "grave concern" about that country's reported intention of raising relations with South Africa to the ambassador level.

The Committee Chairman, Edwin O. Ogbu (Nigeria) was asked to remind Israel that such a step would violate the diplomatic boycott against Pretoria urged as far back as 1962 by the General Assembly because of South African racial discrimination. He was also to urge Israel to break off all diplomatic, consular and other official relations with South Africa. The Apartheid Committee requested a study of trade and other links between Israel and South Africa.

Also this week, the Committee expressed its appreciation of Lebanon's severance of relations with South Africa and Portugal (GA/AP/383).